

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EURE-00 IO-13 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04  
H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02  
SS-15 USIA-06 OES-06 OMB-01 TRSE-00 EB-08 DLOS-06  
/092 W

-----111927Z 011734 /43

P R 111736Z FEB 77  
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9096  
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA  
AMEMBASSY BERN  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA  
USMISSION NATO  
USMISSION UN  
USCINCEUR  
CINCUSAFE  
CINCUSAREUR  
CINCUSNAVEUR  
USNMR SHAPE  
USDOCOSOUTH

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 ATHENS 1407

EO 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR PLOS PBOR GR TU  
SUBJECT: AEGEAN NEGOTIATIONS

REF: A. ATHENS 1055 (NOTAL)  
?. ANKARA 846 (NOTAL)  
C. ANKARA 1005 (NOTAL)  
D. LONDON 2303 (NOTAL)

1. BEGIN SUMMARY. IN A DISCUSSION WITH EMBASSY OFFICERS  
FEB 11, FMA DIRGEN FOR POLITICAL AFFAIRS TZOUNIS  
SAID THAT THERE HAD BEEN NO PROGRESS IN HIS  
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DISCUSSIONS IN LONDON WITH TURKISH AMBASSADOR BILGE  
ON THE CONTINENTAL SHELF ISSUE AND "WE ARE BACK AT SQUARE  
ONE." TZOUNIS ALSO INDICATED THAT THERE HAS BEEN NO MOVEMENT ON  
THE AIR SPACE ISSUE FOLLOWING THE JANUARY 29 MEETING AT  
STRASBOURG BETWEEN FORMINS BITSIOS AND CAGLAYANGIL.  
WITH RESPECT TO OTH ISSUES TZOUNIS SAID  
THE BALL WAS IN THE TURKISH COURT. END SUMMARY.

2. AEGEAN CONTINENTAL SHELF -- THE DCM AND THE POL COUNSELOR CALLED ON AMBASSADOR TZOUNIS, WHO RETURNED FROM LONDON FEB 9, TO HEAR HIS ACCOUNT OF WHAT TRANSPIRED IN HIS TALKS JAN 31-FEB 6 WITH AMBASSADOR BILGE. TZOUNIS SAID IT HAD NOT BEEN POSSIBLE TO MAKE ANY PROGRESS WHATSOEVER IN THE LATEST ROUND OF THE CONTINENTAL SHELF TALKS. AMBASSADOR BILGE HAD INSISTED ON DISCUSSING THE SUBSTANCE OF THE PROBLEM RATHER THAN HAVE THE TECHNICAL JOINT COMMITTEE PROCEED TO COMPILE A LIST OF INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS AND PRACTICES FROM WHICH "PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICAL CRITERIA" MIGHT BE DRAWN FOR USE IN DELIMITING THE CONTINENTAL SHELF BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES (ARTICLE 8 AND 9 OF THE PROCEDURAL AGREEMENT REACHED IN NOVEMBER AT BERN -- 76 ATHENS 12453).

3. BILGE EXPLAINED PRIVATELY TO TZOUNIS THAT THERE WERE TWO REASONS BEHIND THIS TURKISH STAND:

(A) IT WAS CLEAR THAT IT WOULD BE A LONG TIME BEFORE THE LAW OF THE SEA CONVENTION WOULD PRODUCE AN AGREEMENT WHICH COULD SERVE AS A GUIDE WITH RESPECT TO THE ISSUES INVOLVED IN THE AEGEAN DISPUTE. IT WAS, THEREFORE, IMPORTANT FOR THE GREEKS AND THE TURKS TO MOVE AHEAD WITH A DISCUSSION ON THE SUBSTANCE OF THE AEGEAN PROBLEM.

(B) THE DOMESTIC TURKISH POLITICAL SITUATION WAS SUCH THAT THE DEMIREL GOVERNMENT HAD TO SHOW MOVEMENT TOWARD A SETTLEMENT OF THE CONTINENTAL SHELF DISPUTE.  
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4. TZOUNIS SAID THAT, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE BERN AGREEMENT, THE GREEKS FELT IN LONDON THEY SHOULD FIRST FORM THE JOINT COMMITTEE WHICH SHOULD THEN PROCEED TO COMPILE A LIST OF INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS AND PRACTICES WHICH MIGHT BE RELEVANT TO THE GREEK-TURKISH DISPUTE OVER THE CONTINENTAL SHELF IN THE AEGEAN. THE TWO FOREIGN MINISTERS HAD GIVEN THE GENERAL GUIDANCE, FOLLOWING THEIR MEETING IN STRASBOURG, THAT THE LONDON TALKS SHOULD SEEK TO PRODUCE "ALTERNATIVE PROPOSALS" ON THE DISPUTE TO BE SUBMITTED TO THE TWO GOVERNMENTS (I.E. THE TWO FOREIGN MINISTERS) FOR DECISIONS. THE TURKS ARGUED THIS MEANT THAT THE LONDON TALKS SHOULD ADDRESS THE SUBSTANCE OF THE ISSUE. IN ORDER, HOWEVER, TO COME UP WITH "ALTERNATIVE PROPOSALS" IT WAS IMPORTANT FIRST, IN THE GREEK VIEW, TO PROCEED WITH IMPLEMENTATION OF THE BERN AGREEMENT CONCERNING A STUDY OF EXISTING INTERNATIONAL RULES AND PRACTICES. THUS, TURKISH BEHAVIOR AT LONDON HAD RAISED SERIOUS GREEK DOUBTS REGARDING TURKISH INTENTIONS AND GOOD FAITH.

5. FOR EXAMPLE TZOUNIS SAID, A SHARP DIFFERENCE HAD ARISEN BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES REGARDING THE MANNER IN WHICH THE JOINT COMMITTEE WOULD STUDY INTERNATIONAL RULES AND PRACTICES AS CALLED FOR BY THE BERN AGREEMENT. BILGE HAD ARGUED THAT THE STUDY SHOULD INCLUDE NOT ONLY INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS DEALING WITH THE CONTINENTAL SHELF WHICH HAD BEEN CONCLUDED AND RATIFIED BUT ALSO AGREEMENTS CONCLUDED BUT NOT YET RATIFIED, AGREEMENTS UNDER NEGOTIATION, AND EVEN SITUATIONS ABOUT WHICH NEGOTIATIONS HAD NOT YET BEGUN. TZOUNIS EXPRESSED THE VIEW THAT THE TURKS FEARED THAT EXISTING BILATERAL AGREEMENTS BETWEEN STATES ON THE CONTINENTAL SHELF WOULD FAVOR THE GREEKS AND THEREFOR WERE TRYING TO EXPAND THE TYPE OF INFORMATION THE JOINT COMMITTEE SHOULD EXAMINE.

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6. TZOUNIS SAID HE HAD ASKED BILGE WHAT THE TURKS EXPECTED TO RESULT FROM THE SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSIONS. HE SUMMARIZED BILGE'S REPLY ALONG THE FOLLOWING LINES: THE

NEGOTIATIONS COULD EVENTUALLY LEAD TO AN AGREEMENT PROVIDING FOR TWO ZONES OF EXCLUSIVE EXPLOITATION (I.E. IN THE RESPECTIVE TERRITORIAL WATERS OF THE TWO COUNTRIES) AND AN AREA WHERE THERE COULD BE JOINT VENTURES. TZOUNIS CLAIMED BILGE HAD NO ANSWER WHEN TZOUNIS POINTED OUT TO HIM THAT THE PURPOSE OF THE DISCUSSION THEY WERE ENGAGED IN AND THE ISSUE WHICH SHOULD BE RESOLVED AT THIS POINT WAS DELIMITATION OF THE CONTINENTAL SHELF. IT WAS CLEAR TO THE GREEKS THAT THE TURKS WERE INSISTING ON THEIR VIEW THAT THE

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AEGEAN CONTINENTAL SHELF PRESENTED A SUI GENERIS SITUATION AND WERE NOT REALLY INTERESTED IN SEEKING AGREEMENT FIRST ON THE DELIMITATION OF THE SHELF AS THEY HAD AGREED EARLIER IN BERN.

7. IN RESPONSE TO OUR QUESTION AS TO WHAT HAPPENED NEXT, TZOUNIS SAID HE PLANNED TO BE IN TOUCH WITH AMBASSADOR TEZEL HERE TO ASK HIM WHAT THE TURKS THOUGHT THE NEXT STEP SHOULD BE. IN ANY CASE, HE AND BILGE WOULD BE MEETING AGAIN, THIS TIME IN PARIS, IN MARCH AND THE FOREIGN MINISTERS WOULD NEED IN APRIL.

8. AEGEAN AIR SPACE. WITH RESPECT TO THE AIR SPACE ISSUE, TZOUNIS SAID THERE HAD BEEN NO CONTACT WITH AMBASSADOR TEZEL SINCE THE MEETING OF THE FOREIGN MINISTERS IN STRASBOURG ON JAN 29 WHEN IT WAS AGREED THE EXCHANGES WOULD CONTINUE IN NORMAL DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS. ON JAN 7 THE GREEK SIDE HAD GIVEN THE TURKS PROPOSED LANGUAGE TO MEET THE TURKISH OBJECTION TO ANY SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO THE FLIGHT INFORMATION REGION (FIR) BOUNDARY LINE IN THE AGREEMENT (PARA 3, REF A). THE TURKS HAD INDICATED DURING THE MEETING IN STRASBOURG THAT THE LANGUAGE PROPOSED BY THE GREEKS WAS UNACCEPTABLE. THE GREEKS HAD THEN ASKED FOR A TURKISH COUNTERPROPOSAL BUT HAD NOTYET RECEIVED ONE. THE BALL WAS THUS STILL IN THE TURKISH COURT AND, TZOUNIS SAID, THEY WOULD BE INQUIRING SHORTLY OF AMBASSADOR TEZEL WHEN A TURKISH COUNTERPROPOSAL MIGHT BE FORTHCOMING.

9. TZOUNIS SAID THAT THE FIR BOUNDARY LINE WAS STILL THE MAIN STUMBLING BLOCK. AGREEMENT HAD BEEN REACHED TO CREATE TWO ZONES ON THE BASIS OF A 2 TO 3 RATIO, WITH THE GREEK ZONE THE WIDER OF THE TWO, WITH RESPECT TO WHICH EACH SIDE WOULD NOTIFY THE OTHER REGARDING MILITARY FLIGHTS OF FOUR OR MORE AIRCRAFT WHETHER THE AIRCRAFT INTENDED TO CROSS FROM ONE ZONE INTO THE OTHER OR NOT. IN ADDITION, THE GREEKS HAD COMPROMISED ON THEIR INITIAL CEILING PROPOSAL THAT IN THE EVENT 40 OR MORE MILITARY AIRCRAFT

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OPERATED IN A ZONE AT THE SAME TIME, BUT SINGLY, THE OTHER SIDE WOULD BE NOTIFIED, BY AGREEING TO REDUCE THIS CEILING TO 25. TURKISH REFUSAL TO ACCEPT THE FIR LINE AS THE POINT OF REFERENCE FOR THESE ZONES MADE AGREEMENT ON THE AIR SPACE ISSUE IMPOSSIBLE SO FAR. THE GREEKS SUSPECTED, AS A RESULT OF THE POSITION THE TURKS WERE TAKING ON AIR SPACE ISSUES, THAT THE TURKS WERE SEEKING TO CREATE A NEW SITUATION IN THE AEGEAN AND TRYING TO MOVE THE ESTABLISHED AND RECOGNIZED FIR BOUNDARY LINE FURTHER WEST.

10. ANKARA 1072 (NOTAL) WAS RECEIVED AFTER THE ABOVE WAS DRAFTED. WE NOTE THAT TURMEN'S ACCOUNT IS GENERALLY IN LINE WITH WHAT WE HEARD FROM TZOUNIS, ALBEIT FROM DIFFERENT PERSPECTIVES. WITH RESPECT TO TURMEN'S COMMENTS REGARDING A TEMPORARY FREEZE ON ITS AEGEAN EXPLORATION ACTIVITIES, TZOUNIS TOLD US HE FOUND OMINOUS BILGES MENTION THAT A PROLONGED "FREEZE" WOULD BE UNACCEPTABLE TO THE TURKS. (TZOUNIS ALSO MENTIONED THAT BILGE HAD REFERRED TO RECENT DEVELOPMENTS WITH RESPECT TO EXCLUSIVE ECONOMIC ZONES AS AN ADDED FACTOR REQUIRING THAT THE TWO SIDES PROCEED WITH SUBSTANTIVE TALKS.) KUBISCH

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## Message Attributes

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**Review Markings:**  
Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
22 May 2009  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009